

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"<sup>32</sup> the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.<sup>33</sup>

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Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.<sup>34</sup>

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The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.<sup>35</sup>

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## 8

## Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence

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- 32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.
- 33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.
- 34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.
- 35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, *ibid.*, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginoza hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

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166 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

168 In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

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177 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

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178 The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individuals of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

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184 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

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648 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

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The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

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The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.<sup>6</sup>

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Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

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Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.<sup>7</sup> One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

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6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

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361 Hanashiro and Gushichen villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the Gushichen plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

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133 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

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419 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

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484 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

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[311] The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoyan about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day. The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are also made to Itoyan to see relatives and friends.

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[361] The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro. Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.<sup>10</sup> The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

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Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoyan, though without its size, beauty, or color.

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## Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

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The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yanbaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kannu, and Ginoza villages.

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Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

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<sup>10</sup> The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically  
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the  
[491] main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened  
[494] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels  
cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned  
sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor-  
tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the  
island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to dista:  
Naha, about 31 miles away.

● 127 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war.  
There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing  
like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa  
campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the  
island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,  
[362] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserv  
[342] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after  
[166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile  
to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital  
[143] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war  
destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles  
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity,  
the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort  
and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages  
of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the  
diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro,  
the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor,  
its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa,  
the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow se:  
is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the where-  
withal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance.  
Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from  
the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an  
example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest  
in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of  
[136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-  
[242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still  
another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, bu  
to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear  
to superficial observation.

## 1

## Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

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There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.<sup>2</sup> This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamiyans.

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Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.<sup>3</sup>

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

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- 1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.
- 2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.
- 3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

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166 were in the north and central portions of the island.<sup>4</sup> During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

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168 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific Islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.<sup>5</sup> According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

## 2

### Village Populations and Their Characteristics

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167 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

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4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

| Totals        | Hanashiro Village |    |    | Minatogawa Village |     |    | Gushichan Township |     |     | Matsuda Village |     |     | Ginosa Township |     |     |
|---------------|-------------------|----|----|--------------------|-----|----|--------------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
|               | T                 | M  | F  | T                  | M   | F  | T                  | M   | F   | T               | M   | F   | T               | M   | F   |
| Under 5 years | 118               | 70 | 48 | 198                | 101 | 97 | 1153               | 606 | 547 | 230             | 120 | 110 | 849             | 446 | 403 |
| Under 1 yr.   | 24                | 14 | 10 | 22                 | 12  | 10 | 215                | 112 | 103 | 50              | 30  | 20  | 171             | 89  | 82  |
| 1-4 years     | 94                | 56 | 38 | 176                | 89  | 87 | 938                | 494 | 444 | 180             | 90  | 90  | 678             | 357 | 321 |
| 5-9 years     | 50                | 25 | 25 | 111                | 63  | 48 | 566                | 285 | 281 | 166             | 79  | 87  | 638             | 306 | 332 |
| 10-14 yrs.    | 72                | 32 | 40 | 128                | 53  | 75 | 818                | 393 | 426 | 182             | 84  | 98  | 704             | 336 | 368 |

In Gushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginosa-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Gushichan township) 2.4 : 1  
 Minatogawa (Gushichan township) 1.8 : 1  
 Matsuda (Ginosa township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, and in both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Gushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

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stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951

|        | <u>Births</u> | <u>Deaths</u> |
|--------|---------------|---------------|
| Total  | 46            | 11            |
| Male   | 26            | 5             |
| Female | 20            | 6             |

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In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

|        | <u>Births</u> | <u>Deaths</u> |
|--------|---------------|---------------|
| Total  | 263           | 52            |
| Male   | 140           | 26            |
| Female | 123           | 26            |

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167

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The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161  
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|-------------------------------|------|
| Pre-war population, 1940      | 6445 |
| Deaths resulting from the war | 1700 |
| Repatriates                   | 1030 |
| Population, December 31, 1951 | 6267 |

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [127]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

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593 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life. In these villages branch families were established for the most part in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second, that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

[361] Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

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591 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (saurin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (yijami). (8) The village community property (koyochi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (sashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp.

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table:

| Grade of Rice Land | Expected Yield in Koku per Cho |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1                  | 24                             |
| 2                  | 18                             |
| 3                  | 15                             |
| 4                  | 12                             |
| 5                  | 7.5                            |
| 6                  | 6.7                            |
| 7                  | 6.0                            |

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres.

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

### Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources; the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration; the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupation. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used. 241

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fecundity of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [334] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

Rotation #2, Matsula

First year, ninth month; Autumn planting of sugar cane  
Second year, twelfth month; Harvest of sugar cane. Followed  
by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462]  
[482]  
[415] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[82A] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

• [727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes. These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

[462] In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill 1482 1493

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment.

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel. A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use.

## 7

## Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered.

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

The starch comes from two sources; the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Tixing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Minatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Minatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Minatogawa is exceptional.

## Domestic Animals

231  
[727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (*kachiku*). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

## DOMESTIC ANIMALS

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| <u>Animal</u>   | <u>Hanashiro</u> | <u>Nagamo</u> | <u>Minatogawa</u> | <u>Matsuda</u> |
|-----------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Cattle and Oxen | 40               | 5             | 0                 | 1 (80)         |
| Horses          | 2                | 1             | 0                 | 20 (90)        |
| Pigs            | 125              | 100           | 150               | 315            |
| Goats           | 50               | 50            | 40                | 321            |
| Chickens        | a/               | 30            | a/                | 706            |
| Ducks           | 0                | 50            | a/                | 10             |
| Rabbits         | 0                | 0             | 0                 | 6              |

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

361  
[167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

## 5

## Conservation

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[647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bokasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (bokasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [778] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [776] [777]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Grew wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.<sup>11</sup> The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [16] [171]

<sup>11</sup> Hanks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the  
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the  
party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[437] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances,  
but usually range from ¥50 to ¥100 up to ¥1000. In Hanashiro, some-  
thing, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to  
the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and  
blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the  
groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during  
the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's  
family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-  
198 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the  
727 gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.  
435 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In  
the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency  
has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs,  
or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close  
together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy)  
used in this connection.

## 3

## Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years  
198 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes  
in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony  
have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age,  
(3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common,  
(4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has de-  
clined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her  
home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a  
respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the  
same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the  
arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which  
the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

58 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of  
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal  
[582] approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been  
[562] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or  
[197] unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are  
thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with  
ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese  
magazines since the occupation.

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war.<sup>5</sup> The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

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One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

- 5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying forces. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots.

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[177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available.

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In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

#### Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used.

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[312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to

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621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.  
 496 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private  
 496 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing  
 342 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty [594] of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

496 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

591 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

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#### Village Leadership

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 [727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean  
 [875] up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many  
 of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the  
 evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers  
 are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings.  
 Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary  
 in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the  
 elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in  
 other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are  
 little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards,  
 [358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some  
 of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping  
 [727] to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression  
 generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the  
 northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Adminis-  
 tration is well aware of these problems and the school construction  
 program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation  
 and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety  
 [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the  
 new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the  
 school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war,  
 scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most  
 [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige  
 and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal esti-  
 [465] mated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers'  
 [435] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting  
 salary of a beginning teacher was ¥15 a month. (The value of the pre-  
 war Japanese yen was about US \$0.27). A school principal received ¥100  
 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about ¥2200 and  
 for principals ¥5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially  
 pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into  
 effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress  
 is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing  
 that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country,  
 is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher  
 with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers  
 [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds  
 that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service,  
 started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new  
 attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire  
 to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under  
 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement.  
 Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have  
 enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Judo sect (Jodoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Maha and Gushichan.

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Judo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiyo and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room.

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest.

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office.

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference.

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it.

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces

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system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

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[484] In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

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178 There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Loo Chew" in Francis Hanks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

121 It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

621 374 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great  
648 upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, fol-  
722 lowing threats of United States troops' invasion, did not reach this  
621 northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi  
township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the  
"terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages  
to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions  
they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals  
lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions  
to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a  
meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among  
the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared  
648 the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages  
722 were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of  
621 Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of  
farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand,  
the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent  
a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests  
[185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and  
poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes  
of economic readjustment.

173 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some  
167 of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including  
621 Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan,  
and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in  
Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II.  
Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent  
person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of  
the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several chil-  
dren in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as  
infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japa-  
nese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any  
serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed dur-  
ing the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the  
[311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, al-  
though rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland,  
admittedly mostly of poor quality.

000 The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

Taira: An Okinawan Village 875

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen. [107] [162] [24]

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes. [36] [135] [245]

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands. [49]

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them. [36] [365]

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees\* line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village. [36] [137] [727]

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta- [36]

\*A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

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tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361  
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Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361  
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There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361  
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South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. 251  
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To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312  
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592 Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It  
[727] is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilineal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

*Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira*

|                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Total population                                  | 328 |
| Number of households                              | 60  |
| Nuclear households                                | 36  |
| Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations) | 18  |
| Matrilocal extended households                    | 4   |
| Not classified                                    | 2   |

\* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 Relationships and status within the household are ordered accord-  
554 ing to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of  
[562] women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.<sup>1</sup> This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' peste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.<sup>2</sup>

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:<sup>3</sup> (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

| Type of Land    | 1940 Acreage | 1950 Acreage | % of 1940 |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| Cultivated land | 103.8        | 57.2         | 65%       |
| Paddy land      | 11.5         | 9.6          | 83%       |
| Upland fields   | 92.3         | 57.6         | 62%       |

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III<sup>4</sup>

| Year | Acres Paddy Land | Acres Dry Fields | Total Arable Acres |
|------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1904 | 15,779.1         | 93,952.6         | 109,731.7          |
| 1940 | 11,527.25        | 82,273.86        | 93,801.11          |
| 1950 | 9,559.55         | 57,610.16        | 67,169.72          |

<sup>1</sup> Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Ryukyu..., p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

| Area                        | 1904 Acreage |          | 1950 Acreage |          | % Decrease |     |
|-----------------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|------------|-----|
|                             | Paddy        | Dry      | Paddy        | Dry      | Paddy      | Dry |
| Kunigami                    | 5,530.5      | 28,398.5 | 5,463.0      | 20,773.8 | 16%        | 27% |
| Nakagami                    | 3,861.2      | 34,176.1 | 1,675.1      | 14,932.0 | 57%        | 56% |
| Shimajiri                   | 5,370.3      | 30,978.7 | 2,443.9      | 21,904.4 | 55%        | 29% |
| Okinawa Island <sup>1</sup> | 15,719.1     | 93,952.6 | 9,589.0      | 57,610.2 | 39%        | 39% |

#### Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique

It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago.

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'i) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'.

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food.

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashiiji. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find

<sup>1</sup> The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.

[407] Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza Isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush, which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their rebuilt houses. Such poles, or kichigvā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war proceeded far more rapidly than replacement of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

| Type of Livestock | 1940 <sup>1</sup> | 1946 <sup>2</sup> | 1952 <sup>3</sup> | 1952 as % of 1940 |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Cattle            | 22,000            | 112               | 6,837             | 31.0%             |
| Horses            | 25,000            | 899               | 5,110             | 20.4%             |
| Swine             | 108,426           | 1,165             | 107,077           | 98.8%             |
| Goats             | 106,257           | 1,347             | 58,472            | 55.1%             |

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Rūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952:

Table VI

| <u>Livestock Type</u> | <u>1931</u> | <u>1952</u> | <u>1952 as % of 1931</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| Cattle                | 41          | 229         | 558.0%                   |
| Horses                | 1,676       | 74          | 4.4%                     |
| Swine                 | 1,774       | 2,490       | 140.0%                   |
| Goats                 | 4,217       | 1,400       | 33.3%                    |

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related:

I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gissai farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.

In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

## 2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, plant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the live-stock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversal intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

CHAPTER VII: POPULATION

F. R. Pitts

1. Postwar Growth and Change in Okinawa's Population

Repatriates Much of the population increase in the first five years after the end of the war was due to the return of repatriates. It is not known for certain just how many Ryukyans were abroad. However, a rough picture may be seen by examining the statistics and comment presented in the Navy handbook:<sup>1</sup>

No complete summary of the destinations of Ryukyu emigrants is available, but estimates drawn from a number of sources appear to indicate that the industrial regions of Japan proper and the Japanese mandated islands have attracted a vast majority of those leaving the archipelago. A summary of available estimates and census data on the destination of approximately 130,000 emigrants from Okinawa prefecture in the last quarter century is given below:

| <u>Destination</u>                                            | <u>Number</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Japan proper (principally to Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo and Yokohama) | 60,000        |
| Japanese mandated islands:                                    |               |
| Mandated Marianas                                             | 25,772*       |
| Western Carolines                                             | 4,943*        |
| Eastern Carolines                                             | 3,474*        |
| Marshall                                                      | 48*           |
| Hawaiian Islands                                              | 11,000        |
| Brazil                                                        | 9,000         |
| Peru                                                          | 6,800         |
| Philippine Islands                                            | 5,900         |
| Argentina                                                     | 2,300         |
| United States                                                 | 600           |
| Total                                                         | 129,837       |

## \*1937 Japanese Census Figures

Many more Ryukyans came back than the above figures show were abroad. The difference may well be accounted for by a) some inaccuracies in the Navy handbook data, and b) repatriation of Ryukyuan soldiers. Repatriation figures given by USCAR are as follows:

|                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Postwar, prior to August 1945 | 30,000 <sup>2</sup> |
| 1945                          | 112,014             |
| 1947                          | 7,738               |
| 1948                          | 2,607               |
| 1949                          | 1,585               |
| Total postwar repatriates     | 153,944             |

<sup>1</sup> P. 55.<sup>2</sup> USCAR estimate, p. 79 of CAARI.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167  
727\*

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5: 161  
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|                                    |                          |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Areas of Occasional Surplus        | Up to 6 persons per acre |
| Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency | 6-9 persons per acre     |
| Areas of Definite Deficiency       | 9-20 persons per acre    |
| Semi-urbanized Areas               | 20-30 persons per acre   |
| Urban Areas                        | Over 30 persons per acre |

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Mago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161  
128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages. [195 648 197 423 197 423 428 592 166 602 621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries. [175 423 427 477 648 171]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet. [195 423 651 311]

### 3. World War II and the American Occupation

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

<sup>1</sup> Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation  
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.<sup>1</sup> The  
[648] measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new  
titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for  
carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors  
heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking  
that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the  
confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual  
had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-  
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in  
the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transac-  
tions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even  
the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings  
indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and regis-  
tration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the  
result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears  
due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals  
concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births  
and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land  
transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

<sup>1</sup> Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

## [Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman, so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortune may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

## [Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates  
 423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon  
 727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given  
 land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually  
 landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings,  
 chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had  
 farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that  
 he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that  
 he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least  
 amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established  
 branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the  
 former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku  
 241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from  
 one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a  
 [463] month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider  
 has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment  
 worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-  
 [857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family  
 works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks,  
 [479] and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors  
 in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of  
 554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.  
 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a  
 463 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupa-  
 241 tion. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more,  
 though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the  
 younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are  
 eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan  
 student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the  
 town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most  
 [433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their  
 cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricul-  
 tural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One  
 young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured  
 a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their plea-  
 sure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status.  
 Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will  
 never be necessary to return and farm it.

[178] To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an  
 occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking  
 place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employ-  
 ment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless,  
 this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like  
 status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]  
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

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Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

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Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

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Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

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[464]  
[335]

## [Kitazato]

175 It is said that the division of the village cut across family  
621 lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site  
over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the  
periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives  
in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus,  
Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that  
side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama  
people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, accord. g  
621 to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset  
to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which  
was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which  
was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export  
to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kita-  
zato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was  
dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those  
of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose group-  
ing in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of  
311 the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34%  
727 of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction  
(sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains  
but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only  
a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland  
was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is  
11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148  
'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each  
house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku,  
Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

|            |                                         |
|------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Kanegusuku | --- 1514.2 'tsubo'                      |
| Okinawa    | --- 1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household) |
| Kitazato   | --- 148.7 'tsubo'                       |

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some  
families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the  
majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example,  
the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570  
'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate  
for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle:  
"We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today."  
Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given  
land by relatives in these villages.

621 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are  
829 not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for  
727 their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

## [Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs.

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The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 (\$50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5400 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanagusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anabana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however,

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Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system.

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living.

### 3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural.

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished.

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui ("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger.

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

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isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large, extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

- 727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching--families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

- 197 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of  
727 Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

- 197 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military  
829 government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

- 197 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations  
727 enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social  
198 system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold  
[54] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era. 178  
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The major forces for change have been technological and economic. These changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing. 177  
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It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century. 177  
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Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable. 178  
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The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city. 178  
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The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanagusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale. 178  
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241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.<sup>1</sup> Even by the  
433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can  
be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan  
farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low  
241 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any  
554 wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever  
is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which  
241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has  
been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at  
311 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities.  
729 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the  
loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point,  
they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are  
not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration  
to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under  
reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available  
again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last  
433 fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of  
1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the  
reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production,  
which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline  
in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat,  
millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production,<sup>2</sup>  
and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages  
such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance  
the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice.  
Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the  
village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes  
have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within  
the village.

Settlement Patterns The reconstruction of villages after the war  
178 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada  
361 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new  
postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important cross-  
roads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada  
on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the  
old one: in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road  
despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

<sup>1</sup> Cressy, George B., Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that  
year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was  
linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the pre-war period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincoats, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [177]

## [Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' 621 and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, [77] while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration.

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area 195 south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians 621 drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These out- 726 siders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time 227 the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool.

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village 195 during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some 621 returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they 727 were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war.

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the 621 prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated 198 settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three [361] families. The vaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and vaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads.

## [Yamada]

621 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater  
 361 need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been  
 178 the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater  
 177 dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present  
 concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of  
 American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the  
 hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next  
 village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in  
 the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A  
 part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest  
 unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been  
 removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to  
 178 function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along  
 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of  
 households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it  
 seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has  
 178 changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south  
 484 along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their  
 rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not  
 only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore,  
 via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of  
 the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa,  
 and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa  
 a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of  
 the Americans commuting to work.

621 Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their  
 177 village in 1946 they received material aid from the  
 American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they  
 927 continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the  
 648 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several  
 years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military  
 Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had consider-  
 able contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that  
 is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This  
 relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada  
 early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed  
 that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good.  
 During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with  
 the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of  
 the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these  
 meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they  
 had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to  
 decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done.  
 The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

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its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival.

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Anami which does washing for men in the unit.

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Anami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers.

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in

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621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of  
 144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informant  
 563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that  
 they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered  
 any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside  
 Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of  
 621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"  
 582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own  
 199 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and  
 their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters  
 who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands"  
 to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when  
 one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite  
 properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite  
 the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The  
 girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences  
 and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit  
 was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was  
 probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the  
 relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for  
 722 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the  
 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in  
 199 the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,  
 548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such,  
 and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ('madame' in  
 GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is  
 one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds  
 and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of  
 the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is  
 directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by  
 the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have  
 much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following  
 reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because  
 people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad  
 environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house  
 would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money  
 they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain.  
 One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it  
 could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear  
 111 expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have  
 been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not  
 interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone;  
 action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about  
 the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on  
 the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too  
 were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,  
 722 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to  
 its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

## [Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it.

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Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans.

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To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the

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[Yanada]

- 621 villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the  
unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of  
the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught  
English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and  
sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

## 2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number  
[17] of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over  
twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and  
their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for  
Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the  
Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors  
noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to  
the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the atti-  
tude of the villagers toward these people.

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• 729 Kanagusuku The farming village of Kanagusuku was less affected than most  
communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land  
was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of  
villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses,  
464 there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men,  
seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed  
by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These  
individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In  
most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere  
subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have  
not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to  
the village since the war.

621 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments  
464 or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary  
166 residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for  
making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 (\$5.00) in bus fares, but cer-  
tainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape  
the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish  
to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance  
621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma-  
464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business  
829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

[51] Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ-  
ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income  
is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above sub-  
sistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house-  
[46] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family  
vegetable plots.

621 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any  
464 employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections  
464 or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the com-  
munity much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some  
feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the  
affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village  
thus far has not been too great.

621 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a  
729 marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance  
464 of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities  
are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little  
more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its  
officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

621 [78] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-  
time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these  
are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has  
replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of  
1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were  
employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business es-  
tablishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military em-  
464 ployment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10%  
[43] in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would  
have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source  
of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this pros-  
pect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and  
were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employ-  
ment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great  
many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of  
touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is  
621 military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military  
464 job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to  
829 township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs  
in the nearby installations.

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not  
paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some  
resentment over the conduct of troops in those communities during their off-  
duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the  
military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their atti-  
tude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this  
feeling.

621 Kenza Shima The island of Kenza off the east central coast of Okinawa dif-  
729 fers from the above communities in that a large segment of its  
464 population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is  
far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight  
damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred  
repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approxi-  
mately 4,900.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations on policy can only be made in relation to objectives and therefore we must state first our assumptions about the aims of United States policy on Okinawa. We assume that the aims of United States policy on Okinawa are primarily to promote a stable economy and a friendly attitude among the nearly 500,000 Okinawans toward the United States. Both a stable economy and a friendly population are essential to the defense of the island as a military base. We further assume that essential to both economic stability and friendly attitude are the attainment of higher standards of health and education and greater social and political freedom than existed prior to 1945. And finally we assume that the United States has no intention of retaining the Ryukyus permanently (Secretary of State Dulles has stated that Japan has "residual sovereignty" over the Ryugu Islands) and that the military forces will be withdrawn and the islands reverted to Japan when the international crisis ends.

With these assumptions then we make the recommendations that follow. Of these recommendations, two deserve special mention here; they are 1) the immediate payment of an adequate rental for lands used by U. S. forces, and 2) the granting of funds to raise the salaries of school teachers. The land question and the status of teachers are the two most serious problems that can be lessened by immediate action, or at least this was the situation as we saw it a year ago. These and other recommendations we give below topically rather than in order of importance.

433 Fooding. The economy of Okinawa, not especially healthy before the war, suffered greatly because of the war both through the widespread destruction of the battle and through the sudden increase in population brought by the repatriation of thousands of persons from other parts of the former Japanese empire. The task of reconstruction has been enormous and we are well aware that, considering conditions in 1945 (which two of us observed then at first hand), the present situation is not at all bad. We recommend the following:

1) That the land question be settled immediately. The land question was undoubtedly the most urgent problem that we saw during the course of our research. The study of the village of Kitazato demonstrated that poverty, to the point of malnutrition and possible infanticide, together with considerable anti-American feeling has been caused by the confiscation of land without adequate compensation. We recommend that land be rented, not purchased, and that the amount paid in rent be at least equal to current market value, and that it be paid promptly. It is further recommended that payment for categories of land listed in the land records as "genya" and "sanrin" be according to the size of plot instead of the current practice of a flat rate per plot regardless of size.

2) That consideration be given to the possibility of opening to farming hitherto untilled areas in Northern Okinawa in addition to those areas